

Message Text

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ORIGIN EUR-12

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TO AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY ROME
INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
AMEMBASSY VALLETTA
USMISSION USBERLIN
USMISSION GENEVA
AMCONSUL STRASBOURG
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AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 038923

ROME FOR AMBASSADOR LODGE'S OFFICE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CSCE

SUBJECT: CONSULTATIONS WITH NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED STATES
ON CSCE

REF: A) 76 STATE 283196 B) VALETTA 140

1. WE WISH TO CONTINUE CONSULTATIONS AND EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION WITH CERTAIN NEUTRAL AND NON-ALIGNED STATES ON CSCE, ESPECIALLY ON PREPARATIONS FOR BELGRADE AS THE FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS DRAW NEARER. AS IN THE PAST, YOU SHOULD MAKE PRESENTATION TO WORKING-LEVEL OFFICIALS CONCERNED WITH CSCE, DRAWING ON FOLLOWING POINTS AND ASKING THEIR VIEWS. YOU SHOULD PARTICULARLY STRESS OUR INTEREST IN NEUTRAL VIEWS ON FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS.

2. FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS. IN CONSULTATIONS WITH VARIOUS GOVERNMENTS WE HAVE DETECTED INDICATIONS OF GENERAL TRENDS IN THINKING ABOUT FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS. WE WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR VIEWS ON THE VARIOUS ISSUES INVOLVED.

A) PREPARATORY MEETING. THERE SEEMS TO BE A GROWING CONSENSUS THAT THIS MEETING WILL BE TECHNICAL IN NATURE, FOCUSING ON TIMING, AGENDA AND RULES OF PROCEDURE FOR THE MAIN MEETING WHICH WILL BE SUBSTANTIVE. PRESS REPORTS HAVE BEEN CREATING THE PUBLIC IMPRESSION THAT THE REVIEW CONFIDENTIAL

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OF IMPLEMENTATION WILL BEGIN AT THE JUNE PREPARATORY MEETING. IN ORDER TO AVOID POSSIBLE PUBLIC DISILLUSIONMENT WHEN THE JUNE MEETING FOCUSES ON TECHNICAL QUESTIONS, WE ARE POINTING OUT TO THE PRESS THAT THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION AND OTHER SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS WILL OCCUR AT THE MAIN MEETING. WE SUGGEST OTHER GOVERNMENTS DO THE SAME.

B) MAIN MEETING. OUR PRIMARY GOAL IS A FULL REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION. WE BELIEVE NEW PROPOSALS CAN BE CONSIDERED, BUT THAT THESE SHOULD BE LIMITED IN NUMBER AND SHOULD NOT DETRACT FROM THE IMPLEMENTATION REVIEW. IN ORDER TO AVOID LENGTHENING PROCEDURAL DEBATES WE SHOULD STICK AS CLOSELY AS POSSIBLE TO THE AGENDA AS DESCRIBED IN THE FINAL ACT TEXT ON FOLLOW-UP, AND THE PROCEDURES AS ESTABLISHED BY THE FINAL RECOMMENDATIONS OF HELSINKI AND THE OTHER PROCEDURES WHICH EVOLVED DURING THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS.

C) FOLLOW-UP BEYOND BELGRADE. WE BELIEVE THE EXPERIENCE OF THE BELGRADE MEETING WILL BE USEFUL IN FORMING JUDGEMENTS ABOUT POSSIBLE FURTHER CSCE ACTIVITY AFTER BELGRADE, AND WILL BE EVALUATING THE BELGRADE EXPERIENCE WITH THIS IN MIND.

D) LEVEL OF REPRESENTATION. MANY STATES APPEAR TO BE PLANNING ON SMALL DELEGATIONS OF EXPERTS AT THE PREPARATORY MEETING, AND LARGER DELEGATIONS FOR THE MAIN MEETING, HEADED BY SENIOR OFFICIALS OR AMBASSADORS. OUR IDEAS ON REPRESENTATION ARE NOT YET FIXED. WE WOULD APPRECIATE BEING INFORMED OF SPECIFIC PLANS OF NEUTRAL AND NON-ALIGNED STATES WHEN THEY ARE FORMED.

3. HUMAN RIGHTS. THE FINAL ACT HAS SERVED TO FOCUS MORE INTENSELY WESTERN INTEREST IN HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET CONFIDENTIAL

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UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE. HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS IN THE SOVIET UNION AND MOST OTHER EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES HAVE POINTED TO THE CSCE FINAL ACT IN THEIR EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT IMPROVEMENT IN HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES IN THE EASTERN COUNTRIES. THE SOVIETS AND EAST EUROPEANS CUSTOMARILY REJECT WESTERN EXPRESSIONS OF CONCERN ON TREATMENT OF ACTIVISTS AS INTERFERENCE IN THEIR INTERNAL AFFAIRS. PRESIDENT CARTER IN HIS INAUGURAL SPEECH REAFFIRMED THE US COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS. SINCE HELSINKI, WE HAVE STRESSED OUR INTEREST IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT PROVISIONS AND THAT THE VALUE OF CSCE WILL BE MEASURED ACCORDING TO THE DEGREE OF IMPLEMENTATION. BECAUSE OF OUR TRADITIONS, THERE IS NO CSCE AREA OF GREATER CONCERN TO THE AMERICAN PUBLIC

AND GOVERNMENT THAN HUMAN RIGHTS AND SPECIFIC HUMANITARIAN ISSUES. OUR INTEREST IN IMPLEMENTATION IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD, ACCORDING TO THE AGREED PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT, IS SOLIDLY GROUNDED IN INTERNATIONAL LAW. WE FIRMLY REJECT ANY SUGGESTION THAT IT CONSTITUTES INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER STATES.

4. WARSAW PACT PROPOSAL. THE WARSAW PACT POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE MEETING IN BUCHAREST ISSUED ON NOVEMBER 26 A DRAFT TREATY AMONG CSCE STATES ON NON-FIRST USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. THE COMMUNIQUE OF THE DECEMBER 11-12 NATO MINISTERIAL REJECTED THE WARSAW PACT PROPOSAL. SUBSEQUENTLY, THE SOVIETS HAVE INDICATED THAT THEY DO NOT REGARD THE ALLIED RESPONSE AS DEFINITIVE, AND GROMYKO RECENTLY SUGGESTED THERE SHOULD BE A MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF CSCE STATES TO DISCUSS THE WARSAW PACT PROPOSAL. WE BELIEVE OUR EFFORTS SHOULD BE DIRECTED TO IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROVISIONS ALREADY AGREED, INCLUDING THOSE IN THE AREA OF MILITARY CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES. THE NATO COMMUNIQUE CONTAINS OUR REACTION TO THE WARSAW PACT PROPOSAL. IN OUR VIEW, THE NON-FIRST USE CONFIDENTIAL

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DRAFT TREATY IS EVIDENTLY DESIGNED TO FOCUS ATTENTION OF THE CSCE PARTICIPANTS ON AN UNREALISTIC ARMS CONTROL INITIATIVE IN THE PERIOD PRIOR TO BELGRADE, AND TO DIVERT ATTENTION FROM INSUFFICIENT EASTERN IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT PROVISIONS. THE SOVIET REFUSAL TO ACCEPT THE NATO REJECTION OF THE PROPOSAL INDICATES THEY WISH TO KEEP THE ISSUE ALIVE AND TO BRING IT UP AGAIN AT BELGRADE. WE OPPOSE A MEETING ON THE WP PROPOSAL AS SUGGESTED BY GROMYKO, SINCE SUCH A MEETING WOULD GIVE THE PROPOSAL A STATUS IT DOES NOT DESERVE, THEREBY FURTHERING THE EASTERN OBJECTIVE OF DIVERTING ATTENTION FROM THEIR IMPLEMENTATION RECORD.

5. BREZHNEV PROPOSALS. AT THE 31ST SESSION OF THE ECE IT WAS DECIDED TO REMAND THE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR PAN-EUROPEAN CONFERENCES ON ENERGY, TRANSPORT AND THE ENVIRONMENT FOR ONE YEAR'S STUDY BY ECE STATES UNTIL THE NEXT ANNUAL MEETING IN APRIL 1977 AND TO PRESS AHEAD ON SEVERAL SPECIFIC PROJECTS WITHIN THE ECE'S FINAL ACT MANDATE. THE SOVIETS AND EASTERN EUROPEANS CONTINUE TO PROMOTE THE IDEA OF THE PAN-EUROPEAN CONFERENCES AND HAVE SOUGHT SUPPORT ON A BILATERAL BASIS FROM SEVERAL WESTERN CSCE COUNTRIES. THE US AGREES FULLY WITH THE DECISION REACHED AT THE 31ST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ECE CONCERNING THE SOVIET PROPOSAL. IF CONSENSUS ON THE CONFERENCES IS NOT REACHED AT THE 32ND SESSION, THE SOVIETS WILL PROBABLY PRESS FOR THEM AT THE BELGRADE MEETING IN THE CONTEXT OF FURTHER FOLLOW-UP TO THE CSCE

BEYOND BELGRADE. WE BELIEVE PARTICIPANTS SHOULD FOCUS AT BELGRADE ON IMPLEMENTATION OF EXISTING BASKET II PROVISIONS.

6. FAMILY REUNIFICATION. THERE HAVE BEEN SOME SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS RELATED TO FAMILY REUNIFICATION. THE FIGURE ON SOVIET EMIGRANTS PROCESSED BY OUR EMBASSY
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IN MOSCOW IN 1976 FOR TRAVEL TO THE US WAS MORE THAN DOUBLE THE PREVIOUS YEAR. FOLLOWING ARE RELEVANT STATISTICS:

1970 1971 1972 1973 1974 1975 1976

230 287 494 758 1029 1162 2574

THE INCREASE WAS LARGELY MADE UP OF SOVIET ARMENIANS. THE OVERALL RATE OF JEWISH EMIGRATION FROM THE USSR INCREASED ONLY SLIGHTLY IN 1976 OVER 1975, AND IS STILL FAR BELOW THE PEAK YEARS OF 1972-73. THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE PROGRESS ON DIFFICULT EMIGRATION CASES ON THE US REPRESENTATION

LIST, THE MOST RECENT OF WHICH WAS PRESENTED TO THE SOVIETS LAST AUGUST. IN EASTERN EUROPE, THE CZECHS HAVE INDICATED THAT A POLICY DECISION HAS BEEN MADE TO ALLOW CHILDREN OF 1968 EMIGRES TO JOIN THEIR PARENTS, AND SEVERAL OF THESE CASES HAVE BEEN SUBSEQUENTLY RESOLVED. THE HUNGARIANS RECENTLY INDICATED THAT THEY WOULD TAKE A MORE LIBERAL APPROACH TO DIVIDED FAMILY CASES, AND WE ARE AWAITING CONCRETE STEPS BY THE HUNGARIANS AS CONFIRMATION OF THIS.

7. RADIO BROADCASTING. THE SOVIETS AND SOME EASTERN EUROPEANS CONTINUE TO SHARPLY CRITICIZE US FOR RFE AND RL BROADCASTS IN THE CSCE CONTEXT. NEW ASPECT IN THIS REGARD IS RECENT ATTEMPT BY CZECHOSLOVAK MEDIA TO JUSTIFY JAMMING AS NECESSARY TO PREVENT WESTERN "INTERFERENCE" IN CZECHOSLOVAK INTERNAL AFFAIRS. THIS ASSERTION OF SO-CALLED "RIGHT TO JAM" IS INDEFENSIBLE IN CSCE TERMS AND IS DIRECTLY CONTRADICTORY TO FINAL ACT COMMITMENT THAT CSCE STATES "MAKE IT THEIR AIM TO FACILITATE THE FREER AND WIDER DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION OF ALL KINDS."

8. JOURNALIST EXPULSION AND HARRASSMENT. EVIDENTLY IN CONNECTION WITH RECENT DEVELOPMENTS RELATED TO DISSIDENT ACTIVITIES, US JOURNALISTS IN SOVIET UNION AND CZECHO-CONFIDENTIAL

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SLOVAKIA HAVE BEEN EXPELLED AND HARRASSED, SETTING BACK, IN THE CASE OF USSR, PROGRESS MADE SINCE HELSINKI IN WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS. ONE AMERICAN CORRESPONDENT WAS WARNED BY THE SOVIETS THAT HIS REPORTING COULD LEAD TO EXPULSION, AND EARLY IN FEBRUARY AN

ASSOCIATED PRESS CORRESPONDENT WAS EXPELLED FROM THE USSR. ALTHOUGH THE SOVIETS CLAIMED THAT THIS EXPULSION WAS BECAUSE OF VIOLATION OF CURRENCY REGULATIONS, WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THE REAL REASON WAS THE JOURNALIST'S EXTENSIVE REPORTING ON DISSIDENT ACTIVITY, WHICH IS THE LEGITIMATE BUSINESS OF JOURNALISTS. ALSO IN FEBRUARY, TWO AMERICAN NEWSMEN, CORRESPONDENTS OF NBC AND THE NY TIMES, WERE DETAINED FOR SEVERAL HOURS BY THE CZECHOSLOVAKS AND AFTER CONFISCATION OF THEIR NOTES, WERE ALLOWED TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY. AFTER CONSIDERATION OF THE CSCE ASPECTS, WE DECIDED TO EXPELL A TASS CORRESPONDENT IN RETALIATION FOR THE EXPULSION OF THE AP NEWSMAN, IN KEEPING WITH LONGSTANDING POLICY IN SUCH CASES. WE STRONGLY PROTESTED THE TREATMENT OF THE NBC AND NY TIMES NEWSMEN TO THE CZECHOSLOVAK AUTHORITIES.

9. FOR VALLETTA: AS QUESTION OF CSCE ARISES IN COURSE OF NORMAL DIPLOMATIC CONTACTS WITH MALTESE, YOU MAY DRAW ON GUIDANCE IN STATE 28990 AND 76 STATE 53991. HOWEVER, WE SEE NO ADVANTAGE IN OPENING A DIALOGUE ON CSCE WITH THE MALTESE AS WE HAVE WITH CERTAIN NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED

STATES WHOSE THINKING ON CSCE WE HOPE TO INFLUENCE, AND
WHOSE VIEWS, IN MANY RESPECTS, COINCIDE WITH OUR OWN.

10. FOR USNATO: YOU MAY INFORM POLADS THAT WE HAVE
UNDERTAKEN ANOTHER GENERAL ROUND OF CONTACTS WITH THE
PRINCIPAL NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED CSCE PARTICIPANTS.

11. FOR BELGRADE: DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY ARMITAGE,
DURING HIS FORTHCOMING VISIT TO BELGRADE, MAY DRAW ON
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SUBSTANCE OF THIS CABLE IN POSSIBLE MEETING WITH PESIC.
YOU SHOULD THEREFORE TAKE NO ACTION IN CONNECTION WITH
THIS TELEGRAM.

HARTMAN

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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